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THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

SPEECH

OF

GOV. REUBEN E. FENTON,

At Jamestown, September 19th, 1868.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I cannot conceal from you the embarrassment I feel, on personal grounds, in coming from the Capital of the State to speak to you on the political issues of this canvass. The meeting of neighbors and friends brings up associations and reflections that could best find expression in social intercourse and visit with you, and which contend against the more rugged duties relating to a political discussion. In a short time, however, almost concurrent with the close of this canvass, I am to lay aside the cares of public position and return to your midst, and then I shall not hesitate to express the obligation I am under to you, and the friendship and the gratitude I feel.

The principles involved in the political conflicts which are incident to organized society, are few and not hard to be understood. The enthusiasm, excitement and acrimony of party feeling are carried to a greater extreme under a form of government like ours, than in those where there is less freedom of public opinion and a more restricted elective franchise. After all, this free popular outburst and discussion in which our people indulge, ought to tend to greater intelligence upon controverted questions, and therefore to greater security for our rights and our liberties. In the case before us, and upon which we are called to decide at the ballot-box in November, it seems to me that no one, not misled by prejudice, or ignorant of facts, need be in doubt as to what is correct in principle, or due from him in the discharge of duty. I do not mean by this that the acts of one party are all right, and of the other all wrong, for there is, doubtless, something to condemn

in both, but that the purpose and general effect of the conduct of one party in a great trial period such as that through which we are passing, are right and beneficial to the country, and of the other wrong and dangerous. In other times the policies of parties are not apt to result in civil disorder, whatever the varying fortunes of political organizations. It is a struggle within the forms of established government, and each party alike devoted to the Union, and alike lovers of liberty. But in the present contest we are not free to indulge the hope that the safety of public affairs would be equally protected and secured by the accession to power of either of the contestants. I do not say that the patriotic and eminent men connected with the Democratic party, nor generally the members of that party, meditate embarrassment and dis-honor to the Government, but that the platform of the party, the declarations of many of its representative men, and the spirit which seems to control them and to animate the canvass on their part, tend strongly to this result.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWER.

You do not expect me to undertake a review of parties with reference to their adherence to or departure from the spirit and power of the constitution. The events of our history, and the views of leading statesmen indicate an interpretation which the majority of the people willingly accept. Mr. Pendleton in his Bangor speech, dwells upon what he is pleased to term the philosophy of our system of government. He says it is a Union and not a unity, and he refers to the danger from centralization of power. He did not tell us that the natural deduction from his theory was that upon which Secession was attempted to be justified. It is better to have declared that, while our Government is built up, maintained, conducted, and defended by ourselves, there is no power within ourselves less than a majority of all the people, that can change it, and the attempt to do it, outside of the forms prescribed, is treason and forfeiture of political privileges. Of course, I do not touch the point of successful revolution. After the fall of the Confederacy, the States which composed it were disorganized communities, and while they failed to escape from their obligations by destroying the Union, they succeeded in renouncing their political rights under the Constitution, and in destroying

their local State organizations. It is plain that on the dissolution of the armies, in 1865, there was no lawful local government in any of the insurgent States; nor was there then any authority in the people of those States to regain their lost power. Having thus lost the functions of government in the States, what power was competent to restore their lost condition? It was not in the States themselves independent of Congressional action and recognition. There was no lawful local Executive to call an election, and there was no lawful local authority to evolve an Executive. The President was competent to proclaim peace, and he doubtless had authority to hold these States under military rule until provision could be made for their reorganization under the authority of public law; but he could not institute civil governments, for, under the Constitution, Congress alone could guarantee a republican form of government to the States. He had no power to enact or to repeal an act of Congress. Clearly these were questions for the law-making power of the Government; and to be determined not by his will, but by the will of the nation, expressed in the form prescribed by the Constitution. The policy of President Johnson, as disclosed, was to assume the prerogative of Congress, and to exercise in those States the powers relinquished by the Confederate leaders. He not only proposed his own terms to them, but also to the nation, and by reinstating the Rebel authority with increased political power, to confer upon them the fruits of victory. His plan embraced no less than immediate representation at Washington. It was proposed by him to restore those who had been defeated in war to the position of a governing class; ruling those whom they had recently held in bonds, and making laws for the nation which they had tried and failed to destroy. Instead of a "Union and not a unity," their doctrine plainly leads to a Union and a unity, under the direction of the President, and a centralization of power in the Executive, not authorized by the Constitution, and dangerous to the rightful authority of the law-making department of the Government. It is a policy revolting to the general sense of national justice and manhood, and hostile to the genius and practical requirements of our institutions. The manner in which the authority of reconstructing or restoring these States should be exercised by Congress is another thing, and to that I shall have occasion to refer before I conclude my remarks.

TENDENCY OF PARTIES.

I have said that the tendency of the Democratic party was dangerous to the quiet of the country, and that the continued power of the Republican party would strengthen social order and civil liberty. I hardly need say that the candidates of the two parties embody views of our present condition, and the true mode of settlement under the Constitution, and of future progress, almost as opposite as peace and war—as irreconcilable as prosperity and adversity. It is fortunate at least to a correct understanding of the matter that each party in this respect is faithful to the leading ideas which marked its career from the first gun fired at Sumter to the close of the late session of Congress. It will not be found easy to divert the attention of the people from the true state of the question. Our party strove to maintain the nationality, to assert the integrity, of the Union, and to supply the means adequate to this end; the other seemed willing to impair it by unworthy concessions, disheartening the people by magnifying its difficulties, multiplying its dangers, belittling its successes, destroying its necessary regulations, and by repeated declarations of the utter impossibility of attaining the end sought, and the wickedness of the means employed. The one had faith and courage throughout the long dark night of war; the other deemed the war wrong and a failure. These will be recognized as some of the well known views of the parties which lived through the war, and that continue with positions very little changed by the lessons which it taught, or by the entreaties of peace.

OPPOSING CANDIDATES.

The nomination of Gen. Grant by the Republicans was alike the natural expression of their principles, and a signal mark of honor and gratitude to the great captain who led our cause through the difficulties and perils of war to a glorious triumph. It should be remarked, too, that his course throughout the war was hardly more gallant and faithful than it has since been true to the principles involved in the struggle and wise in their application. Equal to great emergencies, and exhibiting a singleness of purpose and devotion to principle rarely equalled, his ability to administer

the affairs of the Government with usefulness and honor seemed to be generally conceded, and long before the Convention he became the almost unanimous choice of our party. No one can doubt his honesty, but few even of the opposite party question his ability, and none should hesitate to give him their confidence and support who prefer the peaceful consummation of the great work, which the war, in the mysterious ways of Providence, has placed before us. In like manner and with equal consistency with their history and objects, the Democratic party, after a full comparison of views and mature deliberation, gave the nomination for President to Horatio Seymour. It is hardly worth while to amplify; in a word, it is sufficient to state that from the beginning the Democratic party was opposed to the war, opposed to the means of sustaining it, and opposed to the measures which have been deemed necessary to restore the country since the war. With these party characteristics, which they have not had the patriotism or courage to shake off, Gov. Seymour has been throughout in entire and hearty accord. And so it is that no man could represent them in the canvass for the Presidency with more general acceptance, as both true to them in the past, and fully approving their most dangerous tendencies for the future. With no purpose to question the motives of men, it is not too much to say that but few other men could have been placed at the head of their ticket whose acts and opinions, in public and political affairs, would have kindled the spirit of rebellion in the South, and repudiation both North and South, more successfully.

THE ISSUE.

The issue then is plain. The Republican party accepts the Southern States with their present governments as members of the Union, and in good faith would give them all the benefits of the Constitution, and it faithfully maintains the sacred character of the public debt created in defense of the Union. The Democratic party denounce these governments, and is committed to their overthrow, and as a logical result the substitution of the old, or other, though new, governments, to be under rebel control. They do not declare in favor of the payment in good faith of every obligation of the Government, and we are led to believe that if they had the authority the terms of payment, if not the payment itself

would be jeopardized. In other words, we are confronted by a party whose spirit and teachings lead us to apprehend from their accession to power, a growing disrespect to the fundamental principles of our institutions, and a disregard of the good faith of the nation: It will be in vain that our opponents attempt to divert the discussion by charging us with debt, which their present allies made necessary, and which their own course has done so much to augment; with extravagance, in which they have equally participated; and with excesses which they have helped to swell, and to which all parties in power are subject. If it was true that our party could be justly arraigned in the manner and to the extent they would have the people believe, it is still of trifling importance compared with the great principles on which the canvass rests, and which are essential to uninterrupted restoration and peace. That we have done some things which we ought not to have done, is probable, but after all, to the everlasting honor of the Republican party, they have shown unwearied fidelity to human freedom, to justice, to equal rights, and to the honor and perpetuity of the Republic.

THE FINANCES.

Let me repeat that the question we pass upon is not mainly one of taxation and debt, although grave considerations of financial policy will continue to form interesting and important themes for discussion. We do not say that the debt is no larger than it ought to be, that taxation is most equitably distributed, and that the revenue is, in every respect, honestly and economically gathered. It may be asked, however, and the inquiry is significant, which party and which policy will, at the earliest period, reduce and discharge the debt and conduct the finances with the least derangement to the industry, credit, and prosperity of the country? The public debt has been created, and while the causes which led to it must add largely to the weight of odium resting upon the Democratic party, the question of immediate and practical importance relates not so much to the responsibilities of the past as to the disposition for the future. How shall we meet the public debt? What temper shall we bring to the treatment of the national expenses? These are the vital considerations growing out of this subject. The maintenance of the public

credit is dependent upon the preservation of the public faith. In these days when great emergencies frequently arise, sudden and unavoidable, in the history of nations, and when rapid advance in the science of warfare has made wars so formidable and expensive, the public credit is the right arm of the national safety. It is hardly less essential than a sturdy and patriotic population, for while we have civil commotions and wars, the munitions and means to support war are almost as indispensable as the stout and willing arms to direct them. An irreproachable credit is also a sure key to the relief of burdens. We borrow money during a period of war at a higher rate of interest than we want to pay in time of peace. But a sound credit would enable us to negotiate new loans in exchange for the old, at a lower rate of interest. England formerly paid six and eight per cent. for all the money she borrowed, but now three or four per cent. will bring whatever amount is desired to supply her wants. A scrupulous maintenance of the public faith, making the public credit as good as the purest gold, is the key to financial ease, security and stability. We would put our credit on this firm foundation, and therefore the Chicago platform declares in the highest spirit of statesmanship, for the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws. Nor does this involve any special hardship, even when judged by the narrow standard of immediate interest. Much has been said as to whether the debt should be paid in gold, or in greenbacks. It seems to me, however, that this question need not at any time assume a high degree of importance; or rather that we may so conduct the finances as to equalize at no distant day, these two classes of money, and thus to render the one almost as desirable as the other for daily transactions. While we insist upon the observance of the strictest good faith, we do not propose to pay any considerable portion of the debt at once. In the language of the Chicago platform, it is our policy to extend it over a fair period of redemption. Meanwhile it is to be hoped we shall be gradually and steadily approaching to a sound specie basis. Men recognize the truth that, as it was the exigency of war which compelled us to depart from the accustomed channel, so with the return of peace we shall again seek that condition which is indispensable to healthful prosperity. It should not be so precipitate as to derange business, but by careful and prudent

advances, consulting all interests and guarding all industries, and thus gradually proceed toward the necessary end. And when we have arrived at that point there will no longer be much question as to the mode of paying the debt. Greenbacks will then be equivalent to gold, and whether the creditor be paid in the one or the other will be a matter of little practical consequence either to him or the nation. Since the close of the war, two hundred and sixty-seven millions have been paid on the principal of the Public Debt. With the reduction of taxation, this rapid liquidation cannot be continued, but the simple statement refutes the charges of infidelity to its trust freely made against the party in power. I need not say that the statements of expenditure which have been made in the high quarters of those who are advocating the election of a Democratic administration are greatly overstated and made to convey an erroneous and unjust impression. A careful research into the report will show that, while the expenditures incident to the unsettled period immediately following a great war are necessarily large, the cost of the Government outside of the interest on the public debt and the pensions and bounties which a grateful nation has justly decreed, exceeds very little the cost of the Government in the average eight years preceding the war, under Democratic rule, if we consider the inflation in prices and the increase of population. As we approach a more settled period, this cost can and should be reduced. For the next year the national appropriations are but a little over one hundred millions. Taxes have been abated in the sum of more than one hundred and fifty millions within the last three years; so it is apparent that the Republican party tends towards retrenchment of expenses and reduction of burdens. To no one could the cause of economy and rigid accountability be more safely intrusted than to Gen. Grant, who, while temporarily in charge of the War Department, as at the head of the army, has shown the firm purpose to lighten the burdens of the people by systematic and wise retrenchment.

RECONSTRUCTION MEASURES.

Nor is it even a question whether the reconstruction measures are wholly right in every provision, but whether in their scope and general character they were not necessary and wise acts, to

the end that loyal men should be protected and loyal governments established. It is to be regretted that Congress has at any time been compelled to exercise unusual powers, even in the work of binding up and endeavoring to heal the bruises of our assaulted Union. But so it was during the war, because the exigency had not been anticipated and amply provided for in our Constitution and laws, and so it has been since, because the mild measures which the loyal nation proffered, were again and again rejected, and thus, driven from point to point, resort was had to the military acts as the least that could be done to compel peace and prevent violence and anarchy. You can all bring to mind the conciliatory character of the proposed amendment which was tendered in good spirit as a basis of settlement, and how the rebel element of the South and the Democratic party North denounced it and spurned it. Moderate yet firm in our purpose, consistent and uniform in the work of restoring the Union, we had urged this measure for their acceptance. To our disappointment, the ruling element in the South continued not only to manifest a spirit of hostility, but also a purpose to oppress those who in honor and justice we were bound to protect. We warned them, as a result, that it would be the duty of Congress, by more stringent measures, to give effect to the popular will. Thus it was that the advance movement was in some measure owing to the obstinacy of our opponents, and a real necessity to repress the defiant spirit and cruel purpose of the Rebel portion of the Southern population. Has not this scheme of reconstruction made good progress? Under it a majority of the late insurgent States have reorganized and resumed practical relations to the Union, and why now attempt to destroy or disturb it? Is it the easiest and quickest way out of our troubles, and is it just? It is well known that the opposition of the President to the Congress has encouraged the Pro-Slavery class, and emboldened them in more and more extreme, and more and more unreasonable, if not revolutionary, doctrines. Can this state of things be remedied by the election of a President who will continue the course Mr. Johnson has pursued? It seems to me that on this ground alone it is clearly our duty and our interest to elect a President who will be in entire accord with the Congress. Who can doubt the hearty acquiescence of the Southern people long before this, in the propositions of Congress if the President had not delayed, and finally

tried to prevent their execution or their acceptance. The next House of Representatives will be like the present one, and it comes to me with the force of conviction, that the difficulty which now hangs over us, threatening our repose and impeding our prosperity, will be cleared away by the election of Gen. Grant. If we should fail in this, it is probable we may have continued trouble ; but if we succeed, as I firmly believe we shall, I look upon the future of our country as presenting no hiatus in the course toward increasing quiet, prosperity and renown. Intelligent suffrage in the South will then soon be as general as it is equal with all classes, and a common interest in the welfare of the Government will spring up, and finally embrace those who to-day are hostile, as well as those who are friendly.

GROWTH OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

I do not mean to express a doubt as to the result of this election. Those who have taken careful note of the events of our history, and our progress in passing from one to another, cannot fail to have observed the steady growth of public sentiment upon all great fundamental questions of government and of man. Let no one think that the current will turn backward. It is true there is danger at intervals, that the people, weary of the strain of active political warfare, surfeited with success, and losing sight, for the hour, of the value of immediate enforcement of the principles which underlie the contest, may give way or seem indifferent to the result of the battle. Even if this was our case, we should soon recover the lost position, and our cause would only suffer by the delay in its triumph. The foundations of Republican government would indeed be shaken when we can no longer rely upon the patriotism of the people. Let us look back for a moment and review this solid advance of public sentiment in demanding in our government a more perfect embodiment of the immortal principles enunciated in our Declaration of Independence. The lessons of a century are significant, and no one can read those this country has given without feeling the firmest reliance in the wisdom and patriotism of the great body of the people. Note the step by step, often slowly, sometimes for a time to the right, sometimes to the left, yet at last, always in the direction of human freedom. Thus the country emerged from its condition of incompleteness, so as to

require modifications, both numerous and radical, and finally the adoption into the Constitution of the equal liberty and citizenship of all those born on or duly naturalized to American soil. Nor is it the less significant that every marked advance has been a recoil from some blow struck by the advocates of despotism against the fundamental idea that our government is for the governed. A little more than one hundred years ago the friends of self-government met at Albany and attempted a general American Union in opposition to the exactions and aggressions of a foreign despotic power. In 1787, the work being consummated, the public domain of the new Republic was consecrated to freedom. In 1820 the same great process was repeated, in the enactment of the Missouri Compromise, and about a third of a century after, following the rude assaults upon this national principle, the American people again proclaimed to the world, speaking through the triumph of free labor in California and Kansas, their unalterable devotion to free popular government. Should I not say that from the territorial aggrandizement sought by the slave power came the free States of the West, and from a Rebellion against the government, of those who would have made an iniquitous system of labor the cornerstone of the Republic, has come the emancipation of 4,000,000 slaves, and the enfranchisement of a race. No better illustration of the growth of public sentiment on these points can be afforded than that of our more recent history. Again and again the nation paused that the insurgent States might return. The emancipation proclamation, the Constitutional amendment, the Civil Rights bill; while the intervals between these measures reveal a high sense of consideration, they also show the direction and the firmness of the growth of public sentiment when stimulated by opposition to the application of those truths which underlie our political fabric. Against this rising tide the Democratic party has striven. Its present appeals to the worst passions and the worst prejudices, will be as unavailing, I doubt not, as its previous efforts at any time during the last period of the nation's trial.

I do not share in the apprehension some profess to feel, that the vital conditions of our national life give evidence of premature dissolution. Neither our political nor our civil strifes partake of the character of those which blacken the page of the history of former Republics. Theirs was a contest for territorial aggrandizement, for governmental splendor; for expansion of power; and

personal ambition and religious fanaticism, each in turn offered an excuse for the aggression of power upon weakness; it was a triple index, pointing to a bloody past, a fitful present, and an unhallowed future. Ours has been, in the main, a steady pull for the broader rights of man, for still more liberal sentiments to be faithfully embodied in the Constitution and laws. With us it has been a conflict between the great truths upon which our political system rests, and a misled opposition, sometimes allied to an odious and discarded despotism. The fierce struggles of our ancestors with the Indians for a foothold on this continent, their colonial wars with the French, their great contest for independence, the war of 1812, and the recent gigantic struggle with rebellion, illustrate the popular and tenacious idea of liberty and union. Following well the doctrine of the fathers, we have reason to congratulate ourselves, my friends, upon the progress and stability of the principles we have sought to maintain.

DUTY OF YOUNG MEN.

In the pending contest the national character is more deeply involved than in any previous one; all classes are implicated, and I suppose in the presence of so many young men, I may be pardoned for saying that no portion have a greater interest in the result than they have. The men at the head of affairs must, in the nature of things, soon give up the places they occupy to those who now in early manhood enter upon the duties of our busy national career. To them will be committed the duty to promote the future common welfare, to develop with fostering care the vast and diversified, but, to a great extent, the still latent resources of the continent; to spread cultivation and civilization over its unoccupied districts; to give higher development to every form of industry, and to prevail in the benefits to be derived from the commerce of the world. It is all-important to us and to them, to their future prospects and our common fame, that they become identified at once with the party of equal rights, feeling that duties are constant, and that justice is born of heaven, and must prevail. Beginning right, men grow strong as they grow old. The value of government consists in the freedom it affords, and the protection it gives to civil rights and civil order; but it can

have only what the people who compose the Government give to it. It requires constant vigilance, as well as constant fidelity. The young men have more of the spirit and enterprise that liberty inspires, as well as more years, and their reward for having engaged in this cause of ours will be correspondingly great. There is no hope, in my opinion, for a long and successful career to the Democratic party. In defiance of the lessons that a genuine progress has written on every leaf of our history, they have become the party of reaction. Herodotus tells us of a graminivorous animal that had long projecting horns, which when it would graze struck into the ground and prevented it from moving forward, so that it was compelled to move backward. Laying aside the comparison, which, however, will not be regarded as wholly inapplicable, it may be well said that the Democratic party is opposed to facts, to the logic of events, and must become unenviable in the distinction which history will give to it, for its course during the past few eventful years; no less for opposition to just and necessary legislation for peace than to rapid triumphs in war.

STATE AFFAIRS.

I hope I do not weary you, but you will expect me to say something about the affairs of our State. There is, indeed, occasion for solicitude here. The debt is large; our system of internal improvements requires the most careful supervision and management; the scheme of education, prison discipline, and our numerous charitable and public institutions, should receive thoughtful consideration, and such generous support as our already heavy burdens will permit. Have we anything to gain in this respect from a change? I know something of the difficulties attending the administration of our State affairs. I know how difficult it is to satisfy all the members, even of our own party, but I have learned also, that a firm endeavor to protect the public interests will in the end always meet the approval of the people. My observation does not lead me to believe that the interests of the State and the welfare of the people would be enhanced by being placed in Democratic keeping. The party which controls in the city of New York, and which has grossly mismanaged its affairs, and fearfully increased its burdens, would rule triumphant in the

State. A review of the journals of the Legislature alone will satisfy any one, it seems to me, that we take a large risk in giving over to the Tammany Democracy the seal of State. I am personally well acquainted with our candidate for Governor, and I may assure you that but few better men can be found for the trust. John A. Griswold is a man of large views, honest and fearless, and under his administration your treasury and your statute-books will be safe from the excess of appropriations, local schemes, and special privileges, and the credit and honor of the State fairly maintained. I did not intend to say much about other candidates, and simply refer to those on the ticket with him, and to the eminent citizen associated with Gen. Grant with unconcealed satisfaction, as being worthy of our confidence and hearty support. Your local candidates have been selected with care; I know Col. Cameron to be a faithful and deserving public servant; and I mention our candidate for Congress with the most sincere approval. I will not complain if you do better for him in this District than you ever did for me. I hope you will give him eight thousand majority. You will thus strengthen him for your work at Washington, and give him increased influence in the affairs of our District, our State and our nation.

Perhaps no State in the Union has a deeper interest in the result of the national canvass than ours—the canvass for President, Vice-President, and members of Congress—and we will not fail in united and earnest effort, which ought to give us the victory. The wealth of New York is large beyond that of any other State, and in an equal ratio the people are concerned in the credit of the State, and the certain and honest payment of the national debt. Our immense industries are involved; the daily laborer, the capitalist, the men in the various trades and the professions, are all alike interested. Who of these men do not feel a conscious pride in the credit of New York, and who would not blush with indignation to tarnish the honor of their growing nation by wronging its creditors? We have alike labored to keep down the debt of the State and pay off the debt of the nation. In less than three years since the war we have paid off one-tenth of the principal of what we owed, beside the extraordinary demands upon us in the way of bounties, pensions, increase of expense of our Indian service, the high prices resulting from the depreciation of paper money, and the ordinary expenses of the Government. Every

widow who has a small sum deposited in the savings bank; every laborer who works by the day, month or year; the soldier who receives a small allowance from the Government in recognition of his valor and his sacrifices on the battle-field, and the property of all is equally concerned in the maintenance of the policy of our party, upon the debt and currency question. The stability of the latter is almost a necessity to the faithful discharge of the former, and in every aspect it is an object of vital importance. It is the representative of produce and of industry, and every act which discredits it, or impairs the national ability to support it, is a crime against the people. With prudence in all matters pertaining to the administration of government, we need not shrug our shoulders at the weight of our burdens. In this respect we have nothing to gain, but much to fear, in allowing the Democratic party to attain the ascendancy. Our debt is less, upon population, than that of Great Britain, and hardly more than that of several countries of the Old World which have far less ability for payment than our own. We have vast material wealth, resources, and varied industry, that surpass any other country. Our population is estimated at one hundred millions in 1900. So if we should only support the ordinary expenses of Government and pay the interest on the public debt during the intervening period, the amount to each person would be less than half what it is now; yet the Republican party, acting upon the principle that each generation, as far as it is possible, should reduce the general burdens, has entered upon a moderate course for the extinguishment of the debt, which will result in entire payment within a third of a century. The great future of our country is beyond the most sanguine hopes, if we are faithful in the discharge of the trusts committed to our hands. Never with any other people were privileges so great or responsibilities so sacred.

CONCLUSION.

It is a waste of time to recur at length to the conduct of the Democratic party, running back through the last twenty years; conduct which has brought all our troubles upon us. It is presumed that a collection of events so essential to be known by every American citizen, has not been neglected by you. I can-

not, however, forbear to mention the so called compromise measures of 1850, and how the Democratic party told us, at the Baltimore convention, in 1852, that they would thereafter resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt be made. And yet how, in 1854, they destroyed the Missouri restriction in the interest of Slavery; the violence they instigated and the blood they shed in Kansas for its establishment, and how they attempted to enforce the Lecompton Constitution with its sanction of human bondage, up in that young and liberty-devoted State. It is no time for passion; I make no attempt at exaggeration, and, therefore, speak calmly of the past, and appeal to you in sober seriousness of the future. In the nature of things, there can be no disfranchised class in this country. Even the late Rebels, as a class, are not excluded from the ballot-box. Those who are disqualified by the Fourteenth Amendment will ere long be restored by the generosity of Congress; but I warn you, my friends, against placing power very soon in the hands of men who have so recently assailed the Government they had sworn to support, and those, who, because they did not then denounce them as rebels, now have their almost undivided support; against placing power in the hands of men who undervalue the financial good faith and honor of the nation.